

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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585 the house. On these mats are sitting the groom's mother's
 585 brother (his *fa'e tangata*, called at this time his *fa'e huki*,
 604 "lap mother"), and the bride's mother's younger sister.
 The groom sits in the lap of his mother's brother, the bride
 in the lap of her mother's sister. They continue to sit thus
 until the *kava* drinking is finished.

585 *Kava* is made and drunk with special ceremony. The
 276 bowl is placed before the bride and groom. It is the largest
 possible bowl and in front of the bowl is the largest possible
 root of *kava* (*kava toho*).²³ The *kava* and the accompanying
 food are provided by the fathers of both bride and groom.
 Four men out of the group of those present (termed
 collectively *tou'a*) are selected to prepare the *kava*-root. The
 root is cut carefully into three sections. The middle section
 [777] is laid aside because it brings bad luck to use it. From the
 two end pieces, the drink is prepared after these pieces have
 been scraped and cleaned. Two sets of pounding-stones are
 set on two mats and two men of the group of four slowly
 pound the *kava* root into small pieces. The groom invites an
 expert to make the *kava*. He sits before the bowl and
 prepares the drink from the root as it is passed to him by the
 pounders. The expert makes great display of skill as he
 goes through the routine of *kava* making.

585 When the *kava* is ready, the person who is presiding over
 276 the circle calls for the *kava*-relish (*fono kava*). The largest
 574 pig (*puaka toho*) is divided in such fashion that the back is
 262 presented to the bride's father's sister's child (the bride's
 [605] *fahu*) and the remainder is divided equally among all the
 other members of the *kava* circle. Food from the oven is also
 divided among all those present. Neither pork nor other food
 may be eaten at this time. It is taken home and eaten after
 the *kava*-drinking is finished. Now the *kava*-cups are called
 and after the first round is finished the bride and groom leave
 the group.

[204] ²³ *Kava* roots are classified in size and named with the same size
 terms that are applied to pigs. Thus there is *kava toho*, *kava hula*,
kava ha'amo, *kava fuataha*, just as there are pigs—*puaku toho*, *puaka*
hula, etc. A feast at which a pig of the largest size is served, a *puaka*
toho, must also serve a *kava toho*, *kava* of the largest size, and so on in
 gradations for size of pig, size of *kava* and status of feast.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

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VAVAU

648 100 yards deep on one side and 140 at the other, and the natives showed their delight by clearing the boundary and planting lines of cocoanuts to mark it. The ship's carpenter made huge broad arrows in cement at the corners on the sea face, and erected blocks of stone, similarly marked, at the inner corners.

804 Meanwhile the navigating officer was taking angles with a sextant on the sea front, and Unga, Fatafehi's secretary, was following him about with his theodolite like a faithful dog. So pathetic was his anxiety that his ancient instrument should be put to use that the lieutenant at last took pity on him, and set it up. The first glance showed him that the metal cap had rusted to the lens, and when he wrenched it off a cry of agony was wrung from Unga, as who [423] should say, "Now you've done it!" For years he had been pretending to survey the boundaries in land disputes with the cap on, and the erection of the instrument had always sufficed to settle the dispute, and here was an Englishman, albeit possessing the occult knowledge of a naval lieutenant, ruthlessly destroying the *mana* of his weapon for ever. But when he was shown that he could look through the telescope, which had formerly only presented darkness to his eye, and

THE NAVIGATOR'S PUPIL

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his instructor even promised to give him lessons in the science of angles. his delight knew no bounds. For days afterwards the lieutenant and his disciple were familiar spectacles in the chart-room, and the former, who came to be a little bored with his pupil's ardour, admitted that he had shown amazing aptitude, and that he could take rough angles and calculate area with approximate accuracy. 804 ●

It was not easy to select the site for the protecting fort owing to the wealth of choice, but eventually we found what we wanted. 648
Fatafehi undertook to "square" the owner, the descendant of a Portuguese deserter from a ship, who had found favour with the Finau Ulukalala of Mariner's time. So far from receiving the idea of a British fort on Tongan territory with coolness, the Tongans seemed to be pleased with it, especially when I hinted that the garrison might consist of Tongans under the command of a British officer. They are a race of warriors, condemned for the present to live upon the traditions of their ancestors' exploits, and soldiering is to them the most noble of occupations; indeed, no commander could ask for more promising material for troops, for alone among South Sea races they had evolved the idea of 701 712 701 181

192 *Vua*, can find no Tongan meaning for this word, but occurs in a line where meaning given for Fijian *vua* suits well. /

Vuaga, where the end of canoe sail was stepped. V. Vu, Baker.

Vue, running before the wind. Cf. Fijian.

Vuga, name of a tree.

MEASURING AND COUNTING.

NATIVE CLOTH.

The unit with which measurement commences, both for length and for breadth, is the span, *haga*, not the ordinary span, but *haga fesi*, which is the distance measured by spanning and then bending the hand over on to the knuckles, thus adding to the span the length of the two top joints of the fingers. Moreover, a woman is chosen to set the measure, who is *nima mafola*, spreading hand, i.e., one whose hand extends flat on the surface of the cloth.

BREADTH—The breadth of the cloth is 16 (sometimes 14) spans, divided by a line down the middle, called *mutukaga*, into two equal portions of eight (or seven) spans. Each of these two half-breadths is called *ma'ukubu*; the total breadth may be called *fola 'osi*, though I have been given a different meaning for this latter term, which will be mentioned presently. The two *ma'ukubu* measure only the printed part of the cloth; down each side runs a border of unprinted cloth, called *taba*.

LENGTH—The unit of measurement is *lagaga*, which is two spans long. The actual measurement, however, is done by the semi-circular frame on which the cloth is extended to be printed, once over this frame, called *baba*, measures two *lagaga*.

At four *lagaga* the cloth is folded in folding to put away, etc. This is enough cloth for an ordinary *vala* (kilt).

Eight *lagaga* is *fola 'osi*, and is a measure for special festive or chiefly *vala*.

Ten *lagaga* is *fola 'osi mālele*, the biggest *fola 'osi*.

The following terms are used in measuring:—

10 *lagaga* is *hogofulu'i gatu*.

20 *lagaga* is *uofulu'i gatu*.

30 *lagaga* is *lau tolu*.

40 *lagaga* is *lau fa*, and so on, *lau nima*, *lau ono*, etc.

100 *lagaga* is *lau tefuhi*.

110 *lagaga* is *lau tefuhi moe hogofulu*.

120 *lagaga* is *lau tefuhi moe uofulu*.

130 *lagaga* is *lau tefuhi moe lau tolu*, and so on.

200 *lagaga* is *lau uogofuhi*.

300 *lagaga* is *lau toluogofuhi*, and so on.

1000 *lagaga* is *lau teau*.

Two other terms have been given me, 30 and 40 *lagaga* are both called *fatu fa*, and from 50 to 100 *lagaga* are called *fatu valu*.

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per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with the land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but I could, without evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all power over their estates. I determined to make the Crown collect their rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical purposes the land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents were paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not included within any "inheritance".

Thus the changes affected, while they resulted in a reshuffle at the top of the structure, left the individual family man in much the same position as before. This last point is put most succinctly by the Beagleholes in a passage in their book:¹¹

The villager therefore no more owns his land today than he did in aboriginal times. A former produce "rent" or tribute is now paid in tax money. Present day security of occupancy is probably for many Tongan commoners greater than formerly when the will or caprice of a high official was the only fiat that counted. But in general, the villager has the same type of economy-status claim to his land and its produce as he had under the old system of Tongan land ownership and feudal control.

2—THE PRESENT STATUTORY FRAMEWORK

421 Today all the land in Tonga belongs to the Tongan Crown; but
423 the traditional "inheritances" referred to by Thompson, which corres-
427 pond to the holdings of the "barons" of former times, are now classified
643 into Royal Estates, the estates held by members of the Tongan Royal
565 Family as their traditional holdings; Noble Estates, the estates held
by members of the nobility as their forefathers had done under the
king in former times; and Government Estates, the remaining estates
which are now under the direct control of the Government of Tonga.¹²

[428] The first two categories are often referred to as hereditary estates to
distinguish them from Government estates and are now heritable at
law as they were by custom. Each such estate is known as a *tofa* and
may run into a thousand or more acres; each member of the Royalty
as well as of the nobility may hold several of them in different parts of
the kingdom (see fig. 1 for distribution of *tofa* on Tongatapu). From
them, allotments are granted to individual Tongans.

425 On reaching the age of sixteen years, every male Tongan is entitled
884 to receive a grant of 8½ acres¹³ of bush land as a tax allotment and a
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¹¹ Beaglehole 1941:19-20.

¹² I am uncertain as to how these estates came to be in the hands of the Government. See passage from Thompson 1894:230-231, already quoted.

[804] ¹³ One often wonders why the awkward figure of 8½ acres. Traditionally the allotments made to individual Tongans measured 100 fathoms x 100 fathoms = 40,000 square yards. 8½ acres = 39,330 sq. yds.; hence it is simply the traditional measure taken to the nearest ½ of an acre.

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[1777]
Resolution AND Discovery

[July

563 that it almost reach[ed] his shoulder. The red feathers so often mentioned in this Narrative all come from Fidgee, as also some of their
 449 finest Striped and chequered Cloth and a few other articles. The demand for feathers is so great that it frequently occasions quarrels
 [72] for if the people of Fidgee refuse to Trade, the others rather than go without will fight for them, so at least I have been told. Now I am
 246 again with Canibals, let me ask those men who Mentain that the want of food first brings men to this Custom, what it is that induceth them to keep it up in the midst of plenty? As these people have no
 804 method of Measuring the distance from island to island but by the
 805 time required to sail it in one of their canoes it was necessary to know or at least to form some judgement how far they can sail in a moderate gale in any given time. With this View I went on board
 502 one of them when under sail, and by several tryals with the log found she went Seven knots or mile in an hour, close hauled in a gentle gale. From this I judge they will sail on a medium with such breezes
 502 as generally blow in their sea about seven or eight miles in an hour;
 805 but the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty four hours, for when they speak of one days sail, they mean no more than from the evening to the Morning of the same day,¹ that is ten or twelve hours at most. And two days sail signifies, from the Morning of the first day to the evening of the second and so for any other number of
 502 days. In these Navigations the Sun is their guide by day and the Stars by night, when these are obscured they have recourse to the points from whence the Wind and waves of the Sea come upon the Vessel. If during the obscuration both the wind and the waves shift (which seldom happens at any other time within the limets of the trade wind) they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended port and are never heard of more.

504 Of all the harbours and Anchoring places I have met with about
 193 these islands that of Tongatabu is by far the best, not only from its great security but for capacity and the goodness of its bottom. The risk we ran in entering it from the North ought to be a sufficient caution never to attempt that passage again with a Ship of burden, sence the other is so much more easy and safe. To sail into it by this eastern Channel, steer in for the NE point of the island and keep a long the North Shore with the sm¹ isles on your Starb^d till you are the length of the east point of the entrance into the Lagoon, then edge over for the reef of the isles and follow its direction and it will Con-

¹ Cook has evidently slipped here, and intended 'from the morning to the evening': the correction was thus made in *Voyage*, I, p. 976. The Log, Adm 55/111, has a marginal pencil note in an eighteenth-century hand, 'should be vice versa'.

NOTES

Chapter I

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¹Initial fieldwork in the village of Puke was characterized by suspicion and even hostility on the part of some villagers.

²At times the same exchange event would be recorded from the donor and the recipient. This provided an excellent opportunity to check for reliability, and then only the first record of the exchange would be used in the sample.

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³Puke was convenient because transportation was available and reliable between the village and Nuku'alofa where I resided.

Chapter II

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¹The basic unit of Tongan currency is the pa'anga 'dollar' and during this study it was valued at \$T1.00 = \$US1.14. All monetary figures in this text are expressed in Tongan currency.

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²Titles referred to in this text are actual titles, but all personal names appearing are fictitious.

Chapter III

[124]

¹Very few informants remember names of ancestors further removed than great grandparents.

[804]

²One rood and 24 perches equals 64 square rods or about $\frac{3}{8}$ acre.

Chapter IV

¹I did record one case of adoption by an unmarried male, but that case was not in the sample from which I am generalizing.

²In 56 percent of adoptions recorded the adopting parents and the biological parents resided in the same village, giving ample opportunity for an adoptee to continue seeing his biological parents.

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 [242] ground is recognized by the type and size of the wild plants growing
 [412] there. The weeds are cut down with the thrusting iron (huo lafa-lafa)
 (see above) and the machete (hele pelu) (see above). After a week
 or so the dried weeds are burned and the land is cleared--for example,
 [462] swept. Women also take part in this work, whereas all the rest of the
 cultivation activity is the business of the men. The holes for plant-
 [412] ing are dug with the Tongan "digging-stick spade" (huo spade) (see
 [804] above) to a depth of 0.5 of a meter to one meter and approximately one-
 fourth of a meter in diameter; the distance from one plant hole to
 the next (approximately 1.80 to 2 meters) is measured by the eye or
 with a measuring tape (European tape or coconut cord [kafe])
 and a stick or stalk, so that rows are formed and the entire layout
 of the "yam garden" looks like a chess board. The /159/ plant holes
 are filled loosely with earth so that the tubers can grow deep into
 the ground. On the soft earth one piece of yam root is lain four
 to six weeks in an earth-covered pit approximately one-half meter
 deep, for sprouting.) Over the plant pieces the natives heap the
 earth with their hands to form small hills. After a week or two the
 young plant grows out of the hill. They cut twigs and lay them
 under (between) the plants, so that the latter can "climb"; (420)

420. A special type of yam ('ufi lei) is also
 allowed to climb up dead tree trunks, posts,
 cords and wires.

today this saves the natives the work of having to turn over the
 ground in the field every day to protect the plants from scorching
 [412] in the hot earth. The weeds which soon appear are removed--generally
 every week or two--with the huo lafa-lafa. The harvest takes place
 after eight to twelve months (depending on the variety). After the
 yams have shown that they are ripe by the leaves turning brown and
 drying up, the tubers are taken out of the ground. First the natives

/160 cont./

244 (as are yams and manioc at times). The distance from one plant to
[804] another is about one and one-half meters (by eye measurement;
arrangement in rows). During the first period of growth weeds are
combated. After three or four weeks the hill around the plant is
heaped up more. Finally the leaves have grown to such an extent that
the sweet potatoes take over the land and maintenance is no longer
necessary. The harvest takes place in six or seven months. The
natives either simply pull the plants out of the ground with their
hands, dig out the sweet potatoes with their hands and continue digging
(with a pointed stick, the huo spade or the huo lafa-lafa) until all
the tubers have been found, or else they first cut off the stalk (for
example, with a huo lafa-lafa), dig out the sweet potatoes with the
same tool or with their hands. The hole is refilled with earth. In
Tonga, the sweet potatoes weigh an average of about three pounds
[251] (the largest, about eight pounds). They may be stored up to four
months.

manioke = Manioc (Manihot dulcis Baillon [?])

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137 Manioc is scarcely more than 100 years old in Tonga, and un-
doubtedly owes its introduction in the Archipelago to Europeans;
its importance for the food of the natives is today considerable
and exceeds that of other cultivated plants. The natives distinguish
some eight varieties in the Archipelago, chiefly by the color of the
244 leaves and tubers. Manioc produces a relatively high yield even on
soil that is less good.

[221] Planting occurs during all months of the year, nor is the harvest
restricted to a specific time of the year. The natives plant manioc
on a cleared plot of land by digging up small hills with the huo spade
(or the huo lafa-lafa), or often with a European fork, and setting two
or three stalk-seedlings (cut off from old manioc stalks with the